

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

USCINCEUR, VAHINGEN, GERMANY

AMCONSUL MILAN

AMCONSUL NAPLES

US DOCOSOUTH FOR INTAF

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SUBJECT: PCI LEADER AND SOCIALIST JOURNALIST EXCHANGE CRITICISMS

OF EACH OTHER'S PARTY

1. IN INTERVIEW GIVEN SOCIALIST PARTY (PSI) THEORETICAL MONTHLY, /MONDOPERAIO/, AUTHORITATIVE PCI LEADER GIORGIO AMENDOLA NOT ONLY VOICED HIS PARTY'S FRANK CRITICISM OF THE SOCIALISTS, BUT, IN PASSING, REAFFIRMED PERSISTING VIEWS OF PCI WHICH CONFLICT SOMEWHAT WITH ITS POPULAR IMAGE AS DEMOCRATIC PARTY, FUNDAMENTALLY OPPOSED TO MOSCOW. THESE VIEWS CONCERN THE PCI'S SOLIDARITY WITH EAST EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES, ITS CONCEPTION OF THE ROLE A COMMUNIST PARTY SHOULD PLAY IN SOCIETY, AMENDOLA'S FRANK ADMISSION THAT STALINIST TENDENCIES PERSIST WITHIN THE PCI, AND HIS PROPOSALS FOR JOINT ACTION BY SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST PARTIES IN WESTERN EUROPE. EMBASSY'S INFORMAL TRANSLATION OF ENTIRE ARTICLE BEING TRANSMITTED BY AIRGRAM. SIGNIFICANT QUOTES CONCERNING ABOVE-MENTIONED POINTS FOLLOW:

2. SOLIDARITY WITH OTHER COMMUNIST PARTIES AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT: "...BUT IF YOU MEAN THAT WE SHOULD BREAK OUR TIES WITH PARTIES WHICH RUN SOCIALIST STATES, AND ABOVE ALL WITH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, WELL, A DEMAND OF THIS NATURE GOES AGAINST THE PROFOUND INTERNATIONALIST SENTIMENT OF THE ITALIAN WORKERS' MOVEMENT."

3. THE ROLE OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IN SOCIETIES: "WITH REGARD TO HUNGARY...THE EVENING THE FIRST NEWS OF THE REVOLT ARRIVED...I SAID TO PARTY WORKERS THAT, RATHER THAN SEE SOCIALISM IN HUNGARY THREATENED, I PREFERRED SOVIET INTERVENTION. MY STATEMENT AROUSED ROARING APPLAUSE, AND ITALO CALVINO, WHO HAD CRIED POLEMICALLY, 'VIVA GOMULKA' TO EXPRESS THAT THERE COULD BE AN ALTERNATIVE TO STALINISM IN THE EAST WHICH COULD STILL BE BROUGHT ABOUT THROUGH THE PARTY--AND NOT OUTSIDE OF IT--ANSWERED THAT I HAD GIVEN UP THAT DAY THE SEARCH FOR MYTHS WHICH COULD BE SUBSTITUTED FOR THAT OF STALIN, AND THAT I HAD JUSTIFIED MYSELF IN THAT MANNER. THE FACTS SUBSEQUENTLY PROVED US RIGHT."

QUESTION: "...BUT IT WASN'T CARDINAL MINRSE NFLON THE BARRICADES
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OF BUDAPEST, IT WAS THE WORKING CLASS..."

ANSWER: "BUT THE PARTY HAD LOST CONTROL OF THE SITUATION. IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA THIS HAD NOT HAPPENED, THE PARTY HAD MAINTAINED ITS GUIDING ROLE; THEREFORE WE DECLARED OUR DISSENT OVER PRAGUE."

4. THE PERSISTENCE OF STALINIST TENDENCIES IN PCI:
"THERE IS STILL A CERTAIN STALINIST NOSTALGIA. WE HAVE OFTEN

HAD TO FIGHT THE 'BATTLE OF THE PHOTOGRAPHS' TO ELIMINATE
STALIN FROM THE (PARTY) SECTIONS."

5. SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST COOPERATION IN WESTERN EUROPE:

"...I HOPE THAT AN INITIATIVE IS TAKEN AT THE PSI CONGRESS
TO CONVOKE AN ASSEMBLY OF ALL THE FORCES OF THE LEFT IN
WESTERN EUROPE--NOT ONLY OF THE LATIN COUNTRIES BUT OF THE ENTIRE
COMMUNITY--TO WORK OUT A COMMON PLATFORM IN PREPARATION
FOR THE POLITICAL ELECTIONS OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, MAINTAINING,
OF COURSE, THE AUTONOMY OF EACH COUNTRY. I CONSIDER
THE PSI THE BEST QUALIFIED PARTY TO TAKE SUCH AN INITIATIVE."

6. AMENDOLA DENIED THE CHARGE OF HIS SOCIALIST INTER-
VIEWER THAT THE PCI HAD RECENTLY BEEN OUTDONE BY THE FRENCH
AND SPANISH COMMUNIST PARTIES IN DIRECTLY DEFYING
MOSCOW. BUT HE EXPLAINED THE PCI'S FAILURE TO TAKE SIMILAR
DRAMATIC ACTION IN THESE TERMS: "WE HAVE CARRIED OUT OUR
POLICY WITHIN THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT ACCORDING TO THE CRITERIA SET
BY TOGLIATTI WHICH ARE CRITERIA OF BOTH PRUDENCE AND FIRMNESS.
TOGLIATTI WARNED US NOT TO TRY TO TAKE A STEP LONGER THAN OUR
LEGS, AND HE WAS WORRIED, NOT SO MUCH ABOUT THE DANGER OF A
"CONDEMNATION," BY A COMMUNIST PARTY IN POWER, AS THE NECESSITY
TO BRING THE ENTIRE COMMUNIST ITALIAN MOVEMENT, INCLUDING ITS
FRAGMENTS NOSTALGIC OF STALINISM, TO UNDERSTAND THE POLICY OF
'UNITY AND DIVERSITY'".

7. COMMENT: TAKEN TOGETHER WITH OTHER REMARKS HE MADE,
AMENDOLA'S VISION FOR WESTERN EUROPE WAS A EUROPE "DEMOCRATICALLY
TRANSFORMED" BY SOCIALISTS AND COMMUNISTS UNITED IN A COMMON
FRONT, LINKED CLOSELY WITH COMECON THROUGH AN AGREEMENT HE SAID
THE HELSINKI ACCORD ENVISIONED, "BUT NOT PREJUDICIALLY ANTI-
AMERICAN." MEANWHILE THE PCI WOULD MAINTAIN ITS SOLIDARITY WITH
THE "INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' MOVEMENT." AMENDOLA APPARENTLY
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SEES NO CONTRADICTION KEEPING THE PCI'S FOOT IN BOTH
CAMPS, NOR IN HIS ADVOCACY OF WHAT AMOUNTS TO
A COMMUNIST SOCIALIST FRONT IN WEST EUROPE, WHILE INSISTING ON
THE HISTORIC COMPROMISE IN ITALY.

8. AMENDOLA'S MOST SIGNIFICANT ADMISSION IS THAT, UNDER
SOCIALISM, THE COMMUNIST PARTY SHOULD PLAY THE LEADING ROLE.
THIS PHRASING IS THE EUPHEMISM USED IN EASTERN EUROPE TO
JUSTIFY A MONOPOLY OF POWER BY THE RULING COMMUNIST PARTIES. (THE
SAME IDEA WAS RECENTLY REAFFIRMED IN ANOTHER OF ITS EUPHEMISTIC
FORMS BY A YOUNGER AUTHORITATIVE PCI SPOKESMAN, GIORGIO NAPOLITANO,
IN CLARIFYING WHAT A PCI FORMAL REJECTION OF THE DICTATORSHIP
OF THE PROLETARIAT WOULD NOT, REPEAT NOT, MEAN, SAID IT IS NOT A
RENUNCIATION OF BRINGING ABOUT THE "HEGEMONY OF THE WORKING
CLASS." BY IMPLICATION ELSEWHERE IN THE INTERVIEW, HE ALSO

CONFIRMED THE PERSISTENCE OF STALINIST TENDENCIES IN THE PCI.)

9. THE PCI'S INTENT TO MAINTAIN "AND EXTEND" TIES WITH THE USSR WAS MOST CLEARLY REAFFIRMED MARCH 1 BY ANOTHER AUTHORITATIVE LEADER, GIANCARLO PAJETTA, IN AN INTERVIEW ALSO GIVEN /LA STAMPA/. PAJETTA EXCLAIMED, "BUT WHAT BREAK" AT SEEING A NEWSPAPER HEADLING "BERLINGUER BREAKS." HE SAID IT EXEMPLIFIED HOW LITTLE THE PRESS UNDERSTOOD BERLINGUER'S REAL INTENT, WHICH WAS TO GET THE SOVIET PARTY TO UNDERSTAND THE PCI'S LINE.

10. AMENDOLA IS A MEMBER OF THE ITALIAN GROUP IN THE JPEAN PARLIAMENT, AND ONE OF THE PCI'S MOST LIBERAL AND RESPECTED OLD LEADERS.VOLPE

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